A SEASONABLE MEMORIAL IN SOME HISTORICAL NOTES UPON THE LIBERTIES OF THE PRESSE and PULPIT: WITH THE Effects of Popular Petitions, Tumults, Associations, Impostures, and Disaffected Common Councils.

The Third Edition.

To all *Good Subjects* and *True Protestants*.

By *Roger L'Estrange*.

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A Seasonable MEMORIAL, &c.

THis Title may perhaps give the Reader an expectation, if not a Curiosity to hear more then the Authour is willing to tell him: For it is his intent, only to expose the mystery of the *Contrivance*, of our late Troubles, without the names of the *Persons*; and to shew that the great work of Destroying *three Kingdoms* was only the Project, and Influence of a Private Cabal: and that the Rebellion it self was excited and carry'd on by the Force, rather of an *Imposture* then of a *Confederacy*; the Generality of the people, being powerfully, and artificially Possess'd by the pretended Patrons of our Religious, and Civil Liberties, that *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* were breaking in upon us, and the design promoted by the Interest of a Court-Faction; It could not chuse but create in them the tendereſt affection imaginable for the one Party, and as violent a Detestation for the other: Especially considering that the *Person* and *Authority* of the *King* were as yet *Sacred*; and not any man opened his Mouth, but for his *Honour*, and *Safety*; the *Purity* of the *Gospel*, and the Peace of the *Kingdome*. For such was the Reverence the Nation had, at that time, for the *King*, and the *Law*; that the least word against the Government had spoyl'd all.

This *Double-refining spirit* came into the World, even with *the Reformation it self*; when by flying from one Extream to another, it left the Truth in the middle; which *Calvin* himself takes notice of in a Letter to the *Protector* (in *Ed.* 6.) *There are two sorts of Seditious men* (says he, speaking of the *Papists* and the *Puritans*) *and against both these must the sword be drawn*; *For they oppose the King, and God himself.* It was the same Spirit that mov'd the Distemper afterward at *Frankford*; and the same still, that made such havock in *Scotland*; and shew in the Face of Q. *Eliz.* her *Parliaments* and *Councill*: till she was forced to suppress it by Severity and Rigour. Her successor King *James*, after a long Persecution in *Scotland*, and a fresh attempt upon him

at *Hampton Court*, by the ſame Faction; took them up roundly, once for all, and ſo paſt the reſt of his days in ſome meaſure of quiet. But the Plot ſucceeded better under King *Charls*; when taking advantage of his Majeſties neceſſities, with the infinite goodneſs of his Nature, that made him apt to believe the beſt of all men, and a Popular mixture in the Houſe of Commons, that was ſtill ready for their turn, they purſu'd him with *Remonſtrance* upon *Remonſtrance*, through *four Parliaments*; and at laſt by the help of the *Act* for the continuance of the *Parliament*, *Tumults*, and that *Execrable Libel* of *Dec.* 15. 1641. Entitled, *A Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdome*, they accompliſhed their ends, under the Countenance of the *Fifth*. By what ſteps, and Methods they gained their Point, comes now to be conſider'd.

The Schiſm led the way to the Sedition.

Their firſt advance towards a *Sedition*, was the introducing of a *Schiſm*; by diſtinguiſhing themſelves, under the Name of the *Godly Party*, from the reſt of the Nation: which they found to be the ſafeſt way of approach, and the moſt plauſible expedient. To this end they brought in *Lecturers* over the Heads of *Parochial Miniſters*; whoſe maintenance being dependant upon the Faction, made them wholly at the devotion of their Patrons.

Emiſſaries in Corporations

They had their *Emiſſaries* alſo in all Corporations, and Populous parts of the Kingdom, that were appointed as *Feoffees*, to deal for *Impropriations*, under the charitable pretext of making a better *Proviſion* for the *Miniſtry*. And theſe were men of publick buſineſs in the World, as Clergy-men, Lawyers, &c. well known, and made famous for their Zeal, by the Reputation of ſo pious an Undertaking. By this project they advanced conſiderable Sums of Money; but the Incumbents little the better for it: For either it ſtuck to the *Feoffees* fingers, or it was applyed to other uſes; and with the *Tithe* of a *Parſonage* in one place, a *Lecture* was ſet up in another.

After the Choice of fit Inſtruments; their next work was to ſecure them from any trouble of *Church-Cenſures*: To which end, they bought ſome *Headſhip* or other in an Univerſity, for ſome Eminent man of their own way, for the training up of Novices in their Diſcipline. And then they had a kind of a *Practical Seminary* at St. *Antholins* in *London*; where their Diſciples were in a manner, upon a Probation, for Abilities, and Affections: and out of this Nurſery they furniſh'd moſt of their New-bought *Impropriations*.

Seminaries of Novices.

Theſe

These young *Emiſſaries* of theirs had their Salary, and were ſubordinate to a *Claſſis* or *Clero-Laicall Conſiſtory*, to be tranſplanted at their pleaſure. And yet this Conſiſtory did not ſo ſtrictly confine themſelves to their own Members; but upon Letters Teſtimonial from the Patriarchs of the Party, that ſuch or ſuch a man was fit for their turn; or had given proof of his fidelity to the Cauſe, by undergoing ſome ſentence for contemning the Orders of the Church, and perſiſting Obſtinately in that diſobedience: to ſuch a man, (I ſay) in ſuch a Caſe, they commonly allow'd a Preference. And the better to avoid the danger of the Spiritual Courts, they made it their buſineſe to provide *Commiſſaries* of their Own Leaven, where they had any ſpecial Plantation. And Laſtly, to make ſure of their Agents, that they ſhould not fall off when they had ſerv'd their own turns, they kept them only as *Pentioners at pleaſure*, and liable to be turn'd out at any time, either if they cool'd in the *Holy Cauſe*, or fail'd of Preaching according to the direction of the *Conclave*.

Their Agents were upon their behaviour.

Let it be noted here by the by, that the deſign and miſchief of thoſe *Lecturers*, when they could not ſo well Congregate in *Private Meetings*, is, in our days, ſupply'd, if not outdone, by a greater number of *Conventicles*; to the very ſame Intent; and God grant it prove not with the like effect.

Their Lecturers are ſupply'd by our Conventicles.

They were as yet but upon the *Preparatory* to the great work of their *Thorough Reformation*; which in plain *Engliſh* was the *Diſſolution* of the *Government*. So that the Pulpits had nothing more to do at preſent, then to diſpoſe and accomodate the Humours and Affections of the People. The Common Subject of the Pulpit (and they all ſung the ſame Song) was *Firſt* to irritate the Multitude againſt Popery: which had been well enough, if they had not, *Secondly* by ſly Inſinuations, under the Notions of *Arminianiſm*, intimated the Church of *England* to be leaning that way. By this Artifice the People were quickly brought into a diſlike of *Engliſh Communion*; and by degrees into as fierce an Averſion to the One Church, as to the Other. Now whatſoever the *Government Loſt*, the *Faction Gain'd*: And thoſe *Pedantique Levites*, that brought ſo many dreadfull Judgements upon this Nation themſelves; were by the Credulous, Tumultuary Rabble cry'd up and Idolized, as the very *Moſes*'s that ſtood in the Gap to avert them. Having by this means render'd the Government *Odious*, and given ſome credit

The People were poyſon'd from the Pulpit.

to

to the *Schism*; their next Instruction was, to make Proclamation of the Numbers, the quality and the sobriety of the Persons aggrieved; to possesse the outside with a confidence, and the other with an apprehension of their strength! *Thousands of Soules ready to Famish*, (they cry) *for want of the Bread of Life. How many Insufficient, negligent and scandalous Pastors? How many Congregations destitute of able, Faithfull Teachers; Preaching in season and out of season, and labouring in the Word? Alas! they dare not consent to any Addition to, or Diminution of Christs Worship, or to the Use of the Inventions of Men, in Gods Service. They desire only the Freedom that Christ and his Apostles have left unto the Churches, and to serve God according to the Example of the best Reformed Churches abroad. This is the Case of Thousands of the upright of the Land.* Let it be understood, that the *Presse* all this while kept pace with the *Pulpit?* only now and then there started out a Party upon the Forelorn, to make Discoveries, and try the Temper of the Government. Some scap'd, and others were taken and censur'd; as *Leigh on Burton*, *Prin*, and *Bastwick*, who only shew'd themselves inconsiderately before their Friends were ready to Second them.

The boast of their Numbers.

They grow upon the Government.

We shall see now how they changed their stile with their Condition; and how their boldness encreased with their interest. Their grievances at first, were only a dark and a doubtfull Prospect of *Popery*, and *Papish Innovations* afar off; and an anxiety of thought for the calamities that were coming upon Gods People through the corruptions of the Times. But succesively opening their Eyes, they are coming now to discover more and more Popery nearer hand: They find the *Church-men* to be *Popishly affected*; the *Liturgy* to be no other then an *English Mass-Book*; the *Hierarchy* it self and all the *Courts*, and *Officers* depending upon it, to be directly *Anti-Christian*: They charge his Majesty to be *Popishly affected*, and all that will not renounce him, to be either flat *Papists* or *Worse*, imposing *Protestation*, *Covenants*, *Engagements* of *Confederacy* against both *King* and *Church*; and Oaths of *Abjuration*: as *the Tests* of a *Loyall Protestant*: passing an *Anathema* upon any man that interposes betwixt their malice, and their Soveraign: They prostitute the Sacred Function for Mony; they suck the blood of *Widdows* and of *Orphans*; By violence taking possession of *Eighty five Livings* at one clap, out of *Ninety seven*, within the Walls of *London*; exposing so many Reverend, and Loyall Divines with their Families, to the wide

World

world to beg their Bread: They Preach the People into *Murther, Sacrilege*; and *Rebellion*, they purſue a moſt gracious *Prince* to the *Scaffold*; they animate the *Regicides*, calling *that Execrable Villany* an Act of *Publique Juſtice*, and Entitling the *Holy Ghoſt* to the Treaſon.

If this General recital of the Riſe and Progreſs of their Actings be true; the Reader has here before him the Iſſue, and the drift of their pretended *Scruples*, the Expoſition of their *Proteſtations*, *Covenants*, and *Deſigns*: wherein it cannot but be obſerv'd how their *Conſciences* widen'd with their *Intereſts*: And this may ſerve to ſatisfy any man, whither People are then a going, when they come to tread in the ſame ſteps. *But* however, for a further ſupport to the credit of this Memorial, we ſhall now ſubjoyn ſome undeniable Evidences of the whole matter, out of their Own words and Writings: where we ſhall ſiude Mr. *Hookers* ſaying made good, in the Preface to his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*. *What other ſequel* (ſays he) *can any wiſe man imagine but this*; *that having Firſt reſolved, that attempts for Diſcipline* without *Superiours are* Lawfull, *it will follow in the next place to be diſputed what may be attempted* againſt *Superiours*. But now to our Proofs, which we ſhall give you from Point to Point, and from the very *Rabbies* of the *Schiſm*.

The ſquar their Conſciences to their Intereſts.

First, As to the CHURCH. *Good People* (ſays *Burton*) *lie under Bondage of Conſcience in point of* Liturgy. 2dly. *In bondage of Conſcience under* Ceremonies. 3dly. *Of Conſcience under* Diſcipline. 4ly. *Of Conſcience under* Government. *Burton* on *Pſal* 53. 7. 8. *Jun.* 20. 1641.

How the Preſence and Preaching of Chriſt did ſcorch and blaſt thoſe Cathedrall Prieſts, that Unhallowed Generation of Scribes and Phariſees! Pa. 21. *Caſe* on *Ezra* 10. 2, 3. pa. 33.

Prelacy and Prelaticall Clergy; *Prieſts and Jeſuits*; *Ceremonies and Service-Book*; *Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion-Court*, *were mighty Impediments in the way of Reformation*. *Caſe* on *Iſa.* 43. 4. pa. 19.

The Scots *were neceſſitated to take up Arms for their juſt Defence againſt* Anti-Chriſt, *and the Popiſh Prieſts*. *Ward* on *Deut* 33. 16. pa. 18.

Now to the LITURGY. *The Service of the Church of* England *is now ſo dreſſed, that if a Pope ſhould come and ſee it, he would Claim it as his own*. And again, *what credit is this to our Church, to have ſuch a Form of* Publique *Worſhip, as Papiſts may without offence Joyn with us in?* This we have from the *Smectymnuans* themſelves,

E. Cal.

E. Cal. *and* Stephen Marshall *being part of the* Club. *Now* (says *Bishop* Hall) *If the Devill confess Christ to be the Son of God, shall I disclaim the Truth because it passeth through a damned mouth?* And what did they give us, in exchange for this *Form of Publique worship*, but a *Directory* without either the *Decalogue*, or a *Creed* in't?

Dispu. against English Popish Ceremonies, pa. 11.

Let not the pretence of Peace and Unity cool your Fervour, or make you spare to oppose your selves unto those Idle and Idolized Ceremonies, against which we dispute.

Smectymnuus, pa. 58.

Their next fling is at the HIERARCHY it self. *The Plastring, or palliating of these Rotten Members,* [Bishops] *will be a greater dishonour to the* Nation, *and Church, then their cutting off: and the Personall Acts of these Sons of* Belial *being connived at, become National sins.*

Marshall before the Commons, *Fun.* 15. 43. pag. 25.

The Roman Emperors *wasted the Saints in Ten several Persecutions, but all these were nothing in Comparison of this destroyer. All their Loyns are not so heavy as the little finger of* Antichrist.

Case of the Covenant, 1643. pa. 47.

The Prelacy of England *which we swore to extirpate, was that very same Fabrick and mode of Ecclesiasticall Regiment, that is in the* Antichristian *World.* And again; *As thy Sword* Prelacy *hath made many Women Childless, many a faithfull Minister Peopleless, so thy Mother* Papacy *shall be made Childless among Harlots: your* Dioceses, *Bishoplesse, and your* Sees *Lordlesse.* Pag. 51.

Marshalls Pegyrique 1643. pa. 21.

Carry on the work still leave not a Ragg that belongs to Popery: Lay not a bit of the Lords building, with any thing that belongs to Antichrist, *but away with it Root and Branch, Head and Tail, till you can say, now is Christ set upon his Throne.*

Woodcock on *Gen.* 4. 23. pa. 12.

Were they not English Prelates *that conspired to sell their Brethren into* Romish *slavery?*

Faircloth, on *Josh.* 7. 25. pa. 28.

'Tis not partial Reformation, and Execution of Justice upon some Offenders will afford us help, except those in Authority extirpate all Achans *with* Babylonish *Garments; and Orders, Ceremonies, Gestures, be rooted out from amongst us. Trouble they will bring upon us for the time to come, if they be not now cut off,* Pag. 36.

Case on *Isaiah* 43. 4. pa. 18.

As to the KING and his PARTY, *what a sad thing is it, my Brethren, to see our* King *in the head of an Army of* Babylonians, *refusing as it were to be called the King of* England, Scotland, Ireland, *and chusing rather to be called the King of* Babylon.

Calamy's Sermon, *Dec.* 25. 44 pa. 18.

Those that made their Peace with the King at Oxford, *were Judases of* England; *and it were just with God to give them their Portion with* Judas.

Here

Here follows next, their Opinion of the COVENANT. *The Walls of* Jericho *have fall'n flat before it*; *the* Dagon *of the* Bishops Service-Book *brake its neck before this* Ark *of the* Covenant, *Prelacy, and Prerogative have bow'd down, and given up the Ghost at its feet.* *Case* on the Covenant, 1643 pa 65.

Take the Covenant, *and you take* Babylon: *the Towers of* Babilon, *and her* Seven Hills *shall move.*——*It is the* Shiboleth *to distinguish* Ephraimites *from* Gileadites. *Pag.* 27. *Not only is that* Covenant *which God hath made with* Us, *founded upon the Blood of* Christ, *but that also which we make with* God, *Pag.* 33. *Caryls* Sermon at the taking the Covenant, Oct. 6. 43.

See now the TENDERNESS of these men of *tender Consciences. Whensoever you shall behold the hand of God in the fall of* Babylon; *say, True here is a* Babilonish Priest *crying out alas! alas! my Living; I have Wife and Children to maintain. Ay, but all this is to perform the Judgement of the Lord. Pag.* 13. *Though as Little ones they call for pity, yet as* Babylonish *they call for* Justice, *even to* Blood. *pag.* 11. *Bridges* on *Revelations* 4. 8.

We are now entring upon the State of the WAR; *wherein* you will finde in the first place who sounded the Trumpet to it? *To you of the Honourable* House, *Up, for the Matter belongs to you: We even all the* GODLY MINISTERS *of the Country will be with you.* *Faircloth* on *Josh.* 7. 25. Pag. 25.

The First Enginiers that batter'd this great Wall of Babylon, *who were they, but the poorer, and meaner sort of People, that at the First joyn'd with the* Ministers *to raise the Building of* Reformation. *Marshalls* Sermon *June*, 15 43. Pa. 15.

Here is an Extraordinary appearance of so many Ministers to encourage you in this Cause, that you may see how real the Godly Ministry in England *is unto this Cause.* (This was upon calling in the *Scots.*) And again, *If I had as many Lives as I have hairs on my head, I would be willing to Sacrifice all those Lives for this Cause.* Ibid. *Ca*'s Speech at *Guild-Hall*, Oct 6. 43.

——*You shall read* Numb. 10. *that there were two Silver Trumpets; and as there were Priests appointed for the Convocation of their* Assemblies, *so there were Priests to sound the Silver Trumpets to proclaim the* War, *And* Deut. 20. *When the Children of* Israel *would go out to* War, *the Sons of* Levi, *one of the* Priests, *was to make a Speech to encourage them.*

Nor were they less cruel and fierce in the *Prosecution* of the *Herl* Jan. 15. on Psal. 95.

War, then they were forward in *Promoting* it. *In vain shall you in your Fast with* Joshua, *lie on your faces, unless you lay your* Achans *on their Backs: In vain are the* High Praises *of* God *in your* Mouths, *without a* Two edged Sword *in your* hand, *Pag.* 31.

Herle on Gen. 22. 5 pa. 23. Fairclith, on Josh. 7. 25.

The Blood that Ahab *spar'd in* Benhadad, *stuck as deep and as heavily on him, as that which he spilt in* Naboth.

The Lord is pursuing you, if you execute not Vengeance on them betimes, Pag. 48.——*Why should life be farther granted to them, whose very life brings death to all about them?* pag. 50.

Case on Dan. 11. 32. 44.

Cursed be he that with-holdeth his Sword from blood; that spares when God saith strike, &c. pag.

And let it not be now pretended that this War was not Levy'd against the King; for they both disclaim his Authority and even the opposing of him on expresse terms. *It is lawful* (says Dr. *Downing* of *Hackney*, in a Sermon to the Artillery Men) *for defence of Religion, and Reformation of the Church, to take up Arms* AGAINST the King. *It is commendable* (says Calamy) *to fight for peace, and Reformation* AGAINST *the Kings Command.* And Case again. *Why come not in the* Scotish *Army* AGAINST *the King?*

Cal's Theses pa. 29. Case on the Covenant, 43. Herle before the Commons 44.

If the Devil can but once get a Prophet to leave Gods service for the Kings, he hath taken a Blew already, and is ready for as deep a Black as Hell can give him. pa. 28.

But what do they say all this time to his AUTHORITY?

Cal's Theses in Sermon Dec. 25. 44.

The Parliament, whom the People chuse, are the Great and only Conservators of the peoples Liberties. pag. 2. *They are the chief Magistrate,* pag. 38. *All those that fought under the Kings Banner against this Parliament, fought themselves into slavery; and did endeavour by all bloudy and Treacherous ways to subvert Religion and Liberties,* pag. 9. *The Lords and Commons are as Masters of the House,* pag. 22.

Jenkin's Petition.

The Parliament of the Common-wealth of England *without the King* 1651. *were the Supreme Authority of this Nation.*

Herles Sermon before the Commons, 1644.

The Houses are not only requisite to the Acting of this Power of making Laws, but Coordinate *with his Majesty in the very Power of* Acting. pag. 42.

Baxters Holy Commonwealth.

The Reall Sovereignty here in England *was* (says *Baxter*) *in* King, Lords *and* Commons, pag. 72. *And those that conclude that the Parliament being Subjects, may not take up Arms AGAINST the King,*

as

and that it is Rebellion to reſiſt him, their grounds are ſandy, and their Superſtructure falſe. pag 459. 460.

The next point is their Animating the MURTHER of the KING. *Do Juſtice to the Greateſt*; Sauls *Sons are not ſpar'd*; *no nor may* Agag, *or* Benhadad, *tho' themſelves* Kings. Zimri, *and* Cozbi (*tho Princes of the people*) *muſt be purſu'd into their Tents*: *This is the way to Conſecrate your ſelves to God.* pag. 16. *Herle* before the Commons Nov. 5. 44.

The Execution of Judgment is the Lords word; *and they ſhall be curſed that do it negligently. And curſed ſhall they be that keep back their Sword in this Cauſe. You know the ſtory of Gods Meſſage unto* Ahab, *for letting* Benhadad *go upon Compoſition.* pag. 26. *Stickland's* Thankſgiving Sermon Nov. 5. 44.

But you ſhall now hear the MURTHER of his Sacred Majeſty preſs'd more particularly in theſe Words. *Think not to ſave your ſelves by an unrighteous ſaving of them, who are the Lords, and the Peoples known Enemies, you may not imagine to obtain the favour of thoſe againſt whom you will not do Juſtice: For certainly, if you all not like Gods in this particular, againſt men truly obnoxious to Juſtice; they will be like Devils againſt you. Obſerve that place,* 1 Kings 22. 31. *compared with* Cap. 20. *It is ſaid in* Cap. 20. *that the King of* Syria *came againſt* Iſrael, *and by the mighty power of God, he and his Army were overthrown, and the King was taken Priſoner. Now the mind of God was (which he then diſcover'd only by that preſent Providence) that Juſtice ſhould have been executed upon him, but it was not. Whereupon the Prophet comes with aſhes upon his face, and waited for the King of* Iſrael, *in the way where he ſhould return; and as the King paſſed by, he cry'd unto him, thus ſaith the Lord, becauſe thou haſt let go a man whom I appointed for Deſtruction, therefore thy Life ſhall go for his Life. Now ſee how the King of* Syria, *after this, anſwers* Ahab's *love: about three years after,* Iſrael *and* Syria *engaged in a new War, and the King of* Syria *gives command unto his Souldiers, that they ſhould fight neither againſt ſmall nor great, but againſt the King of* Iſrael. Benhadads *Life was once in* Ahabs *hand, and he ventur'd Gods diſpleaſure, to let him go. But ſee how* Benhadad *rewards him for it? Fight neither againſt Small nor Great, but againſt the King of* Iſrael, *Honourable, and Worthy. If God do not lead you to do Juſtice upon thoſe that have been great Actors in ſhedding Innocent Blood, never think to gain their Love by ſparing of them; for they will, if Opportunity be ever offer'd, return again upon you. And then they will not fight againſt the poor, and mean ones, but againſt thoſe that have been the Fountain of that* *Cocksyns* Sermon before the Commons Nov. 29. 48. The Kings Murther Encouraged.

Authority and Power which have been improved against them.

Brook's Sermon before the Commons Dec. 26. 48

Have you not sins enow of your Own, (says another) *but will ye wrap your selves up in the Treachery, Murther, Blood, Cruelty, and Tyranny of others?* p. 17. *Set some of those Grand Malefactors a mourning* (*that have caused the Kingdom to mourn so many years in Garments roll'd in blood*) *by the Execution of Justice,* &c. pa. 19.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere Malorum. And we are not yet at the Top on't neither; For to look back upon that hideous Impiety, not only without remorse, but with satisfaction, is a piece of hardness, and Inhumanity, till this Age, and this Case, perhaps unheard of.

Jenkin's Sermon before the Commons Sep. 25. 56. pa. 23.

Worthy Patriots, (says another of the same Order) *you that are our Rulers in this Parliament, 'tis often said, we live in times wherein we may be as good as we please; wherein we enjoy in Purity and plenty the Ordinances of* Jesus Christ, *praised be God for this; Even that God who hath deliver'd us from the Imposition of* Prelatical Innovations, Altar-Genuflexious, *and* Cringings, *with* Crossings, *and all that Popish trash and Trumpery. And truly I speak no more then I have often thought, and said, The Removal of these Insupportable Burthens, Countervails for the Blood and Treasure shed and spent in these late Distractions: Nor did I as yet ever hear of any Godly men, that desired, were it possible, to purchase their Friends, or Money again, at so dear a rate, as with the return of these, to have those soul-burthening,* Anti-Christian Yoaks *re-imposed upon them. And if any such there be, I am sure that desire is no part of their Godliness; and* I PROFESS MY SELF, IN THAT TO BE NONE OF THE NUMBER.

The Kings Murther Justified.

Baxters Holy Commonwealth 486

And M. *Baxter* likewise in effect says as much, *viz. That having often searched into his heart, whether he did lawfully engage in the War, or not, and whether he did lawfully encourage so many thousands to it, he tells us that the Issue of all his search was but this, that he cannot yet see that he was mistaken in the main Cause, nor dares he repent of it, nor forbear doing the same, if it were to do again, in the same State of things.*

Mr. Baxters Cases of Conscience Theses 137. 181.

We might carry the aggravation yet a step farther, in a Remarque or two upon his *Political Theses*, where he took as much pains in 1659. to keep out his present Majesty, as he did in the late War to drive out his Royal Father; casuistically resolving upon the point then in Hope and Prospect; that in that state of things, *the King himself could not justifie the resuming of his Government, nor his People the submitting to it.* But this is enough to

recommend

recommend the same persons over again, to the care of another Reformation, that were so dutifull in the former; and the Government needs not doubt but they will be just as kind to his Majesty as they were to his Father. *Good God!* that any thing in Humane shape, that Glories in the Murther of his Sovereign, should make a face at a Ceremony!

Here's no amplyfying of the Matter, no forcing of constructions, Packing of Presidents, or suborning of Proofs; But the Doctors of the *Schism*, *Cited*, *Produc'd*, and *Judg'd*, *out of their own mouths*: and in so clear a manner too, as to leave no place for a doubt, either of the Fact, or of the Designe. We could give you an account of the many good Offices they did in the various Revolutions of the War, and upon the Pinching Exigences of the State: As the promoting of *Petitions*, *Tumults*, *Protestations*, *Oaths* and *Covenants*, of all sizes and colours: the Consecrating of the Rebellion by Authorities of *Scripture*; Dividing *Wives* from their *Husbands*, *Sons* from their *Fathers*, Preaching away the *Apprentices* from their *Masters*, and setting *Jesus Christ* in the Head of the *Sedition*. The artifices of their *Fasts* and *Thanksgivings*, their Cajoling the City out of their *Bags*, and the simple multitude out of their *Lives* and *Duties*; the Influence they had upon bringing in the *Scots*, their faculty both of Creating *Fears* and *Jealousies*, and of Emproving them; their miraculous *Discoveries of Plots of their own making*: Their *Sermons* were a kinde of *Domestique Intelligence*, and people went to Church as to a Coffee-house, to hear News and Fables. We could shew you likewise how they shifted their *Principles* with their *Interests*, and from 1640. to 1660. how these Mercenaries of the Pulpit complied with every turn of State: But we have rak'd far enough already in this puddle, and it is high time to Proceed.

Ex ore tuo.

The Schismaticks did the Faction many good Offices.

If a man might with a fair *Decorum* call so direfull a *Tragedy* a *Puppet-play*, we should tell you that you have hitherto seen only the *Puppets* of this *Pretended Reformation*; and that they signified nothing of themselves, but as they were guided by the Masters of the *Machine*, from under the Stage, or behinde the Hanging. Now we cannot better lay open this Practice and Confederacy, then by setting forth the admirable Harmony and Concert that appear'd betwixt the *Lay-Caball*, and the *Ecclesiastick*; agreeing in the same method, in the same steps, in the same cause, and in the same Opinion. Only that which was

The Pulpit only spake as the Cabal directed.

matter

Their agreement in Method and design.

matter of *Policy* in *Private*, was made matter of *Conſcience* and *Religion* in *Publick*, Firſt, they finde out Corruptions in the Government; as matter of *Grievance*, which they expoſe to the People. Secondly, they Petition for Redreſs of thoſe Grievances, ſtill asking more and more, till ſomething is deny'd them. And then Thirdly, they take the Power into their own hands of Relieving themſelves, but with *Oaths* and *Proteſtations*, that they Act only as *Truſtees* for the *Common Good* of *King* and *Kingdom*. From the pretence of *Defending* the Government they proceed to the *Reforming* of it; which *Reformation* proves in the end to be a *Final Diſſolution* of the Order both of *Church* and *State*. This we ſhall deduce as briefly as we may.

A deduction of our Late Troubles.

After the Fatall Pacification at *Berwick*; *June* 17. 1639. (upon the *Scots* Inſurrection, who kept not any one Article that was there agreed upon) the King called a Parliament, that met *Apr.* 13. 1640. which at the firſt was thought to be well enough diſpoſed, till Sir *Hen. Vane* (then Secretary of State) demanded *Twelve Subſidies*, in ſtead of *Six*, which put the Commons into ſuch a flame, that upon *May* 4. his Majeſty, by the Advice of the Council, thought fit to Diſſolve them. In *August* following, the *Scotch Confederates* (holding very good Intelligence with the *Engliſh*, entred *England* with an *Army*, which the King oppos'd with what force he was at that time able to Raiſe, upon his own Credit. His Majeſty, upon this pinch, Summons his *Great Council of Peers* to aſſemble at *York*, *Sep.* 24. where they met accordingly, and adviſed the King to a Treaty, which was held at *Rippon*, and a Peace was there Concluded and Signed *Octo.* 26. His Majeſty being ply'd in the *Interim* with Petitions to call a Parliament, and his work cut out ready to his hand, in the matter of *Property* and *Religion*. Thoſe *Petitions* might have been ſpar'd, the King having before hand reſolved to call a Parliament, to meet on the 3d of *November* next. They were no ſooner met, but they fell upon *Grievances* and *Impeachments*, beginning with the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſo proceeding, till all his *Majeſties Friends* were made *Traytors*, and the *Law it ſelf* was found to be the *Greateſt Grievance*.

Exact Collection pa. 4.

There is a Malignant and Pernitious Deſign (*ſays the* Remonſtrance *of* Dec. 15. 41.) *of ſubverting the* Fundamental Laws, *and Principles of* Government, *upon which the* Religion *and* Juſtice *of this Kingdom is firmly eſtabliſh'd. And there are certain* Councellors *and* Courtiers, *who for private Ends have engaged themſelves to fur-*

ther

then the Interest of some Forreign Princes *and* States, *to the Prejudice of his* Majesty, *and the State* at Home. Take notice now, *that the King had already* (by their own confession) *pass'd more Good Bills* Pag 16.
to the advantage of the Subjects, then had been in many ages. Coat *and* Conduct-money *were all damn'd*; *The Earl of* Strafford *beheaded. The Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Judge* Bartlet, *and several other* Bishops *and* Judges Impeach'd; *two Bills pass'd, the* One *for a* Triennial, *the* Other *for* Continuance of the Present Parliament; *the* Star-Chamber, High-Commission, Courts *of the* President, *and* Council *in the* North *taken away, the* Council-Table *Regulated, the Power of* Bishops *and their* Courts *abated*; Innovators *and* Scandalous Ministers *terrify'd by accusations*; *the* Forrests *and* Stannary-Courts *brought within compass*; and yet after all this, *other things* pa. 15. *of main Importance for the Good of this Kingdom are in Proposition.* But their Intention *pag.* 19. is only *to reduce within Bounds that exorbitant Power which the Prelates have assumed*; *to unburden mens Consciences of needless, and superstitious Ceremonies*; *Suppress Innovations, and take away the Monuments of Idolatry: To support his Majesties Royall Estate with Honour and Plenty at home, with Power and Reputation abroad*; *and by their Loyall Affection, Obedience and Service, to lay a sure and lasting Foundation of the Greatness and Prosperity of his Majesty and his Royall Posterity after him,* pa. 2. *Declaring and Protesting further to this Kingdom and Nation, and to the whole World,* pag. 163. *in the presence of Almighty God, for the satisfaction of their Consciences, and the discharge of that Great Trust which lies upon them, that no* Private Passion *or* Respect, *no* evill Intention *to his* Majesties Person, *no designe to the prejudice of his* JUST Honour *and* Authority *engaged them to raise Forces, and take up Arms against the Authours of that War, wherein the Kingdom was then Inflam'd.*

Let us see now how well they acquitted themselves as to this Profession; They put the Kingdom into a Posture of Defence *by the Authority of Both Houses* pag. 96. *They require an Obedience to it,* Pag. 112. *They Vote it a Breach of priviledge, not to submit to any thing, as Legal which they declare to be Law.* Pag. 114. *And declare* pag. 150. *that upon* Certain Appearance, *or* Grounded Suspition; *the* Letter *of the Law shall be emproved against the* Equity *of it; and that the* Commander *going against its* Equity, *discharges the* Commanded *from* Obedience *to the* Letter: *to shorten the business, they make it Treason, upon any pretence whatsoever,* Pag. 576. *to assist his Majesty in the War, with Horse, Arms, Plate, or Monies;* Exact Collections.

nies; and his Majesty Sums up the Malice of that Declaration in these *Six Positions*.

Six Treasonous and Seditious Potion. Pag. 297. 298.

First, *That they have an absolute Power of Declaring the Law; and that whatsoever they declare to be so, ought not to be questioned either by King or People: So that all the Right, and safety of the Prince and Subject, depends upon their pleasure.*

Secondly, *That no Presidents can be Limits to bound their Proceedings*; which if so, the Government of the *Turk* himself is not so Arbitrary.

Thirdly, *That a Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein the King or Subject hath a Right for the Publick Good*; : (speaking all this while of the remnant of the two Houses.) *That they without the King are this Parliament, and Judge of this Publick Good*; and that the Kings Consent is not necessary. *So that the Life and Liberty of the Subject, and all the Good Laws made for their security may be dispos'd of and Repeal'd by the Major Part of both Houses, at any time, present, and by any ways and means procured so to be, and his Majesty has no Power to Protect them.*

Fourthly, *That a Member of either House ought not to be troubled or medled with, for Treason, Felony, or any other crime, without the Cause first brought before them, that they may Judge of the Fact, and their leave obtained to proceed.*

Fifthly, *That the Sovereign Power resides in Both Houses of Parliament*; *the King has no negative Voice, and becomes Subject to their Commands.*

Lastly, *That the Levying of Forces against the Personal Commands of the King (though accompany'd with his presence) is not Levying War against the King: But to Levy War against his Laws and Authority (which they have power to declare and signify) is Levying War against the King*; *and that Treason cannot be committed against his Person, otherwise then as he is intrusted with the Kingdome, and discharging that Trust*; *and that they have a power to judge whether he dischargeth it or no.* And all this still, for the maintainance of the true *Protestant Religion*, the *Kings JUST Prerogatives*, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of the Land, and the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, Pag. 281. *Nay they will not allow the King* any great Officer or Publick Minister, the Power of Treating upon War, or Peace, or any matter *of State, conferring Honours*; *no not so much as the Power of appointing any Officer, Civil or Military, without leave of the two Houses.* The Scale of their wickedness, in One Word,

(wherein

(wherein their hireling-Pulpitiers fall in as pat with them as two Tallies) was this. *First*, they fell upon the Kings *Reputation*; they invaded his *Authority* in the next place; after That, they aſſaulted his *Perſon*, ſeiz'd his *Revenue*; and in the Concluſion, moſt Impiouſly took away his *Sacred Life*: At which rate, in proportion, they treated the Church, and the reſt of his Friends, and laid the Government in Confuſion.

Baits for all Parties.

For the compaſſing of theſe accurſed ends, they ſtill accommodated themſelves to the matter they had to work upon. They had their *Plots*, and *falſe allarms* for the *ſimple*, their *Tumults* for the *fearfull*, their *Covenants*, *Aſſociations* for *the Factious*, and *in fine*, the *Party*, was a Receptacle for all ſorts of *Libertines*, and *Male-contents*. But the great difficulty was the gaining of the City: which could not be effected, but by embroyling the Legal, and ancient conſtitution of that Government. For there was no good to be done upon the *Imperial Monarchy* of *England*, without Firſt confounding the *Subordinate Monarchy* of the City of *London*, and creating a perfect underſtanding betwixt the *Cabal*, and *Common-Councill*: which was very much facilitated, by caſting out the Loyall, and Orthodox Clergy, and teaching all the Pulpits in *London* to ſpeak the ſame Language with *Margarets Weſtminſter*. But let us conſider the Government of the City of *London*, Firſt, in the due, and Regular Adminiſtration of it; and then in its corruptions, and by what means it came afterwards to be debauch'd.

The Legal Government of the City of *London*.

The City of *London*, was long before the Conqueſt, Govern'd by *Port-Reeves*: and ſo down to *Richard* the *Firſt*,, who granted them ſeverl Priviledges in acknowledgment of the Good Offices they had render'd him. But the *Firſt Charter* thed had for the Choice of their own *Mayor*, or *Governour*, was confer'd upon them by *King John*, in theſe words. *Know ye that we have granted to our Barons* (or *Freemen*) *of our City of* London, *that they may chuſe unto themſelves a* Mayor *or themſelves*. And their following Charter of *Henry* the *Third* runs thus. *We grant alſo unto the ſaid Citizens, that they may yearly preſent to our Barons of the Exchequer* (*we or our Heirs not being at* Weſtminſter) *every Mayor which they ſhall firſt chuſe in the City of* London, *to the end they may be by them admitted as Mayor*. In a following Charter of *Ed.* 2. *That the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City aforeſaid, may be choſen by the Citizens of the ſaid City; according to the Tenour of the Charter of our Progenitors,* (*ſometimes Kings of* England) *to that end made; and not otherwiſe*. The Charter of *Hen.* 8. runs to the

Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of *London*, *Conjunctim*. The Charter of *Ed.* 3. is thus. *We have granted further for Us and our Heirs, and by this our preſent Charter confirm'd to the Mayor, and Aldermen of the City aforeſaid; that if any cuſtoms in the ſaid City hitherto obtained and uſed, be in any part Difficult or Defective, or any thing in the ſame newly happening, where before there was no remedy Ordained, and have need of amending, the ſaid* Mayor *and* Aldermen, *and their Succeſſours with the aſſent of the* Commonalty *of the ſame City, may add and ordain a remedy, meet, faithfull, and conſonant to reaſon, for the Common profit of the Citizens of the ſame City, as oft, and at ſuch time as to them ſhall be thought expedient.*

The Charter of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

We have the rather cited theſe clauſes in favour of the Lawfull Government of the City; in regard that they have been ſo often, and ſo earneſtly perverted another way. The *Charter* we ſee, is directed to the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* of the City; the Power is granted to them, to propoſe the making or mending of Laws, as they ſee occaſion; only by the aſſent, or diſſent of the Commons, they are ratifyed or hindred. And thoſe Laws are only Acts of Common-Council, that is to ſay, not of the Commonalty alone, but of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in concurrence. Some there are that miſtake the word *Conjunctim*, and would have *Joyntly*, to be *Equally*: as if one could not have a *greater* Intereſt or Authority, and *another* a *leſſe*, though in a *Joynt Commiſſion*. The Power, in ſhort, of ſummoning, and Diſſolving Common-Councils, and of putting any thing to the queſtion, does legally reſide only in the Lord Mayor. And the *Active Power* in the *Making* of a Law, and the *Negative* Voice in the *Hindering* of a Law, have been by long Preſcription and uſage, in the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. And theſe being *cuſtoms of the City*, every *Freeman* is to ſupport and maintain them by the Obligation of his Oath. And in farther proof that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen are by their Charter inveſted with the Powers aforeſaid; We ſhall need only to inform our ſelves who they are that in caſe of any publick Diſorder, are made anſwerable for the Miſdemeanour. *Richard* the *Second* granted a Commiſſion *to enquire of all and ſingular Errours, Defects, and Miſpriſions in the City of* London, *for want of Good Government in the* Mayor, Sheriffs *and* Aldermen *of the ſaid City.* And for the *Errours*, *Defects*, and *Miſpriſions*, in their Government found, they were fin'd 3000. *Marks*: the *Li-*

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berties of the *City seiz'd* into the Kings Lands, and a *Warden* appointed to govern the City: till in the end, the Duke of *Glocester* pevail'd upon the King to reinstate them.

We have here given you a short view of the Orderly Government of this glorious City; which is perchance one of the best qualify'd Establishments both for King and People, under the cope of Heaven. We are now coming to lay open by what Arts and Contrivances it came to be corrupted; and in a manner, to lay Violent hands upon it self: Which is a story that may serve some for curiosity, and others for Edification.

In what manner the people were wrought upon.

The People being extreamly discomposed in their minds upon the Apprehension of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; and shaken also in their *Allegiance*, upon a strong Impression that it was a design in their Governours themselves to introduce it. It was no hard matter to inveigle them into *Petitions* for Relief, *Protestations*, *Associations* and *Covenants*, for the Common defence of themselves, in the preservation of their *Liberties* and *Religion*; and into a favourable Entertainment of any plausible pretext even for the Justification of Violence it self: Especially the *Sedition* coming once to be Baptized *Gods cause*, and supported by the Doctrine of *Necessity* and the unsearchable *Instinct* and *Equity of the Law of Nature*: And all this too, Recommended and Inculcated to them by the men of the whole World, upon whose Conduct and Integrity, they would venture their very Souls, Bodies, and Estates. Being thus perswaded, and possess'd; the coming in of the *Scots* serv'd them both for a Confirmation of the ground of their fears, and for an Authority to follow that Pattern in their Proceedings; both Causes being founded upon the same Bottom, and both Parties united in the same Conspiracy. So that this opportunity was likewise improved by all sorts of ayry Phantastical Plots, frivolous and childish reports, to cherish the Delusion: And now was the time for *Tumults* and *Out-rages* upon publique Ministers, and Bishops, nay and upon the King himself; till by Arms and Injuries they forc'd him away from his Palace, when yet they had the confidence to charge his Sacred Majesty with making War upon his Parliament. But this would not yet do their business, till they got possession to the *Militia*; which at length they did: the Presses and the Pulpits all this while giving life and credit to their Proceedings.

The Artifice of Petitions.

EIK. B.

Upon the tuning of mens minds for *Invocations*, by making them ſick of the preſent ſtate of things; the People were eaſily prevail'd upon to *Petition* for what they ſo much wiſh'd for and deſir'd: and this was the ſecond ſtep towards the *Tyranny*, and *Slavery* that enſu'd upon it. The *Rude people* (ſays his Late Majeſty) in his Reflections upon (TUMULTS) *are taught firſt to Petition, then to Protect, then to Dictate, and at laſt to Command.* The Faction made uſe of Petitions as common Houſe-breakers do of ſcrews; they got in by little and little, and without much noiſe, and ſo Rifled the Government: Or they did rather like the counterfeit Glaſiers, that took down the Glaſſe at Noonday under colour of mending the Windows, and then Robb'd the Houſe.

To make a right Judgment upon a Popular Petition we ſhould firſt conſider the matter of it. Secondly the wording of it. Thirdly, the manner of Promoting it. Fourthly, the Probable intent of it. And Laſtly, we ſhould do well to conſult Hiſtory and Experience to ſee what effects ſuch Petitions have commonly produced.

As to the *Subject Matter* of Popular Petitions, it is either for publique concernment or private; Generall or particular: That is to ſay concerning the whole Body of the People, or only ſome *part* of it. It is either within the Petitioners *Cognizance*, and *Underſtanding*, or it is not; It varies according to the Circumſtances of *Times*, *Occaſions*, and *Parties*: and it often falls out, eſpecially where it treats of *Reformation*, that the one half of it is a *Petition*, and the other a *Libell*. The Caſe that is purely *Private*, or *Particular*, cannot properly be called *Popular*; and ſo not to our purpoſe. There are likewiſe *Mixt Caſes* of *Publick*, and *Private*; as in the Calamities of *War*, *Peſtilence*, *Fires*, *Inundations* and the like; where *Numerous Subſcriptions* are matter of *Atteſtation*, rather then *Clamour*; on the behalf of ſuch and ſuch *Known*, and *Particular Sufferers*. Now there is great heed to be given to the Petitions of men both that *Underſtand* what it is they ask, and whom the Law has made *Competent Judges* of it. But where the Queſtion is, the Redreſſe of *Grievances* in matter of *State*, the *Complaining* part of the *Petition* makes it only *more Artificiall Scandall*: Beſides the dangerous boldneſs of Intermeddling in points which they neither have any thing *to do withall*, nor one jot *Underſtand*. Such as the Petition

tition of the *Rabble*, in and about *London*, in 1640. againſt *Epiſcopacy*, *Root* and *Branch*; the *Porters Petition* in 1641. about the *Militia*, being told *that it was only a* Petition *to Prohibit* Watermen *from carrying of Burthens*, That of the *Stanford School-boys*, which their Maſters made them Subſcribe againſt *Biſhops*; Or the *Scottiſh Petition* in 1637. of *Men*, *Women*, *Children*, and *Servants*, (in thoſe very terms) againſt the *Service-Book*. Theſe few inſtances may ſuffice to ſhow the folly (and worſe) of peoples ſtickling for they know not what.

Many Petitions for they know not what.

Next to the *Matter* of the Petition we ſhould conſider the *wording* of it: For *he that asks he knows not what, may ask any thing in the World, for ought he knows*. And it is not the hnmility of the Stile, that can juſtify the publiſhing of a Reproach upon the Prince: Did not *Joab* take *Amaſa by the* Beard *with the Right hand to* kiſs *him*, and yet at the ſame time *ſtrike him under the* Fifth Rib *that he dy'd? It is no Breach of Charity, when a Multitude are drawn into a Petition blindly to ſollicite the Intereſts of Other men, to take all ambiguities and Equivocalls in the worſt ſenſe.*

The manner of Promoting Petitions.

And then the Manner of Promoting theſe Petitions goes a great way. It was a common practice in the Late Times, for the confiding Members of ſeveral Countries to draw up Petitions to themſelves, and Lodge them in the hands of ſeverall of their Factious Country-men here in the City, to gather Subſcriptions, Where, and how they pleas'd, in the *Name* of their *reſpective Countries*. *Their Seditious Preachers* (ſays the Late King) *and Agents are by them, and their ſpeciall and particular Directions ſent into the ſeverall Counties to infuſe Fears and Jealouſies into the minds of our Good Subjects*, with *Petitions ready drawn by* Them, *for the* People *to* Sign, *which were yet many time by them changed three or four times before the delivery; upon accidents, or occurrences of either, or both Houſes. And when many of our poor deceived People of our ſeverall Counties have come to the City of* London, *with a Petition ſo* framed, altered, *and* Signed, *as aforeſaid*; *that Petition hath been* Suppreſs'd, *and a* New one *ready drawn hath been put into their hands, after their coming to Town* (*inſomuch as few of the Company have known what they Petition'd for*) *and hath been by them preſented to One or Both our Houſes of Parliament. as that of* Bedfordſh. *and* Buckinghamſh.; *Witneſſe thoſe Petitions*; *and amongſt the reſt that of* Harfordſhire; *which took notice of matters agreed on or diſſented from, the night before the delivery. Which was hardly time enough to get ſo many thouſand hands, and to travel to* London

Ex. Coll. 536. Fobb'd Petitions impos'd upon the Nation by the Faction.

London *on that Errand.* Theſe were not the *Petitions* of the *Subſcribers*, but of *thoſe that ſet them on*; who did in effect, but *Petition* the *People* to *Petition them* again; and that which was *taken* and *impoſed* as the ſenſe of the *Nation*, was only the *Project* and *Dictate* of the *Caball.* Only with the *Porters*, they thought they had ſign'd a Petition againſt the *Watermen*, and it prov'd to be againſt the *Government* (ſo innocent were the greater part of the Petitioners.)

The intent of Popular Petitions is to be conſider'd.

Now as to the *Intent* of thoſe Petitions, ſince we cannot enter into the hearts of men, we are allow'd to judge of the *Tree* by the *Fruit.* And we muſt diſtinguiſh too betwixt the *Intention* of the *Dictatours*, and that of the *Subſcribers*: the *Former Contriving* with an *Ill Intention* that which the *Latter Executed* with a *Good One.* Let the *Matter* of the Petition be never ſo fair, yet (as was ſaid before) if it be a buſineſs out of the *Petitioners ſphere*, and *capacity*, either to *meddle in*, or to *underſtand*; it is a *ſuſpitious* way of Proceeding. Such were the *Confederate Petitions* of *England* and *Scotland* for a Parliament in 1641. which were but a *Prologue* to the Opening of the *Subſequent Confederacy* againſt the *Government*: When the Petitions that *follow'd*, ſufficiently expounded the meaning of the *Former.* They *Petitioned* againſt *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, *Ceremonies*, *Scandalous Miniſters*, *Biſhops Votes* in Parliament, and *Epiſcopacy it ſelf*, againſt evil *Councellors*, *Monopolies*, *Corruptions of State*, Courts of *Oppreſſion* and *Innumerable Grievances*; Were they not gratify'd in all this? and did not thoſe very *Conceſſions* make them ſtill *Bolder* and *Bolder?* More and more *Greedy* ſtill, and more *Inſatiable?* They muſt have the *Militia* too, the Command of the *Kings Towns*, and *Forts*, and put the Kingdom into a poſture of defence themſelves. They cry for *Juſtice upon Delinquents*; the very Rabble *demanding the Names of thoſe in the Houſe of Peers that would not conſent to the Propoſition made by the Houſe of Commons concerning the* Forts, Caſtles, *and the* Militia, (*when it was rejected by a* Major Part *twice.*) *And declaring them for Enemies to the Commen-wealth:* Loyall *and* Legall Petitions *being ſtill* rejected *and the* ſeditious contenanc'd: In a Word; they grew higher and higher, till they brought the King to the Block; which was no more then a Natural Concluſion from ſuch premiſes. And *the Firſt Petition* (how plauſible ſoever) *was the Foundations of all our Ruins.* Theſe Petitions you muſt know, do not ask to *Obtain*, but to be *Deny'd*; and only ſeek an Occaſion

Conſederate Petitions are but the Prologue to confederate Practiſes.

Never ſatisfy'd.

Ex. Coll. p. 548.

to

to pick a quarrel; and if they cannot finde it, they'l make it. if this be not provided for, they tell us, *It is the Caſe of many a Thouſand in* England, *and great troubles will come of it*: The very *Stile* of them is *Menacing*; and certainly nothing can be more Evident then their evil *Intention*. There's Malice in the *Publication* of them too; beſide that by the *Number* of the *Subſcriptions*, they take an Eſtimate of the *ſtrength* of their *Party*; which is their ſafeſt way of *Muſter*.

The Laſt Section under the Head of *Popular Petitions* is the *Effect* of them: which in our Caſe was no leſs then the deſtruction of *Three Kingdoms*; and let the *Matter* be what it will, the *Method* is a moſt neceſſary Link in the chain of a Rebellion. And it is the ſecureſt experiment too, of attempting a commotion, being the gentleſt of Political Inventions, for feeling the pulſe of the People. If it *takes*, the work is half done; and if *Not*, 'tis but ſo much Breath Loſt, and *the Deſign will keep Cold*. *But may not men Petition* (you will ſay) *and Petition for a good thing?* Yes, if the thing be *Simply Good*, the *Petitioners*, *Competent Judges* of it, and every man keep himſelf to *his Own Poſt*, I ſee no hurt in't. But for the *Multitude* to interpoſe in Matters of *State*; as in the *Calling* or *Diſſolving* of Parliaments; *Regulation of Church Government*; or in other like Caſes, of *Doubtfull* and *hazardous Event*, wherein they have no *Skill* at all, nor any *Right* of *Intermedling*; why may not 20000. *Plow-Jobbers* as well *Subſcribe* a Petition to the *Lord-Mayor* of *London* for the Calling of a *Common-Council*? Or as many *Porters* and *Carmen* here in *London* put in for the better government of the *Herring-Trade* in *Yarmouth*? every jot as reaſonable would *This* be as the *Other*. And that's not all neither, for the *Thing* they take to be a *Cordiall*, proves many times to be a *Poyſon*: and after *Subſcription* they are yet to learn the very *meaning* of the *Petition*: And then the *Numerous Subſcriptions* prove it manifeſtly to be a *Combination*: For the *Number* of Hands adds nothing to the *Weight* of the *Petition*; and ſerves only for *Terrour* and *Clamour*. It is a kinde of an odd way of putting the Queſtion: as who ſhould ſay, *Sir, May we be ſo bold?* and the *ſufferance* or *Patience* of the *Prince* ſeems to anſwer them, Yes, you *may*: and ſo they go on.

The Effect of Popular Petitions.

Upon what Terms they may be allow'd.

Let every man keep to his own poſt.

The Tranſition is ſo natural, from a *Popular Petition* to a *Tumult*,

A Natural Transition from a *Popular Petition* to a Tumult. EIK. BA. upon Tumults.

mult, that the *One* is but the *Hot Fit* of the other; and little more in effect then *a more earnest way of Petitioning*. By those (says his Late Majesty) *must the House be purg'd, and all Rotten Members (as they please to call them) cast out. By these the Obstinacy of men resolv'd to discharge their Consciences must be subdu'd; by These, all Factions, seditious and schismatical Propositions of Government Ecclesiastical or Civil must be back'd and abetted, till they prevail. God forbid* (says Mr. *Pym*) *that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way.* It would fill a Volume to tell the Insolencies of the *Rabble* upon *Lambeth-House* upon the *Persons* of the *Archbishop of York* and *all the Loyall members of both Houses*; their Outcries for *Justice* upon *Laud* and *Strafford*, under the Conduct of *Ven* and *Mannering*: Their Exclamations, No Bishops, No Popish Lords; Proclaming several of the Peers by their Names to be *evil* and *rotten-hearted Lords*: Their besetting of *Sheriff Garnets* House, when the King Din'd there, crying out, Priviledges of Parliament; their affronting the *Lord Mayor* (Sir *Richard Gurny*) *and tearing his Chain from about his Neck*, and using Sir *Thomas Gardyner* (the Recorder) little better; following them with Reproaches, Remember the PROTESTATION. Nay the King himself had his Coach stopt, and *Walkers* Seditious Libel *To your Tents O Israel*, thrown into it in the street. This was upon the dispute about the *Five Members*, when at their Return from *Westminster* they made a stand at *White-hall-gate*, bauling out, *that they would have no more Porters Lodge, but speak with the King when they pleas'd. About a hundred Lighters and Long-Boats were set out by water, laden with Sacres, Murthering-Pieces, and other Ammunition, dresst up with Mast-cloths and Streamers ready for fight*; calling out as they past by *White-hall Windows, what's become of the King? whither's he gone?* The Tower of *London* and *Hull* being both besieged at the same time. Now what was the *End* of These *Tumults*, but over and above the Guilt and Calamities of a *Civil War*, a Vengeance in the Conclusion upon the Heads of all the First Abetters of them? These very men that first by *Tumults* forc'd away the *King* from *Whitehall*, and their *Fellow-members* from attending their Duty at *Westminster*, were *Themselves* afterward *cast out*, by *succeeding Tumults*, under the Character of *Persons Disaffected*, (the *Independents* at that time being too hard for the *Presbyterians*) and the City too was *whipt with its own rod*. No man is so blinde (says the Late King) a

Ex. *Coll.* 532.

The Insolence of the Rabble upon the Parliament

Pag. 533.

Upon the City.

And upon the King himself.

Pag. 538.

The first Tumults punished by tumults.

not to see herein the Hand of Divine Justice; They that by Tumults, first occasioned the Raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults. In fine, a *Tumult* is a *seditious action* in *Hot Bloud*; and only accounted the less Criminal, for that there is not in it the *Malice Prepense* of a *Rebellion*. If it succeeds, the Principals of the Faction form it into a conspiracy; but if it miscarries, it passes only as That did in *Scotland*, 1637. for an *Outrage* of the *Rabble*. EIK. BA. Upon the Distraction of the Parliament Army, and City.

Where many People agree in the *Desiring* of the same thing, they seldom fail of *Engaging* afterwards towards the Procuring of it; and so the Project advances, from *Petition* to *Protestation*, or *Covenant*; the *One* Leading so naturally to the *Other*, that the *Late Popular Petition* was no sooner set on foot, but it was immediately followed upon the Heel with the Proposall of an *Association*, pretending the Practice of 57. *Eliz.* for their Warrant. It would be endless to run through all the *Leagues*, *Covenants*, *Bonds*, *Protestations*, *Engagements*, *Oaths*, &c. of the Late times; and as needless to set forth the Histories of the Miseries they brought upon us, after so many Narratives and Discourses already Published, upon that Subject: So that our Business shall be rather to *discover* the *Imposture* of those *Practises*, then to *dilate* upon the *Story*. Of Oaths, Covenants, and Associations.

All *Popular Leagues*, *without* the Authority of the *Supream Magistrate* are to be lookt upon as *Conspiracies*; but when they come once to bear up in *Defiance* of it, the Case is little better then a State of *Actual Rebellion*. The Pretence of the Late *Engagements* was only to assert and Compass the *Ends* of the foregoing *Petitions*: And it was the Master-piece of the Faction to keep the Vulgar in the dark, by disguising the Drift, and the Scope, both of the One, and the Other. It was by this following train of thoughts that the Multitude in 1641. were Egg'd on into the foulest crimes, and the Heaviest calamities Imaginable. *The Lord bless us* (say they) *we are all running into the* French Government, *and* Popery: *the* Courtiers *and* Prelates *will be the Undoing of us all; the king is a good man enough of himself, if he had but Good people about him; but he's so damnably led away by Popish Councells; I would to God he would but call a Parliament and hearken to their advice. But why should we not press him to't; and ferret out all these Caterpillers from about him? 'Tis true*, the *King* can do no wrong, *but his* Ministers *may*: *and yet the* King *is bound by* The Leagues of Subjects among themselves are Conspiracies. The Conclusions of 1641.

the Law, *as well as* We. *Had not we better get hands to a Petition, and joyn to ſtand by one another as One Man, for the preſervation of our* Liberties, *and* Religion, *then ſtand gaping with our fingers in* our Mouths till all is loſt? Little did theſe people Imagine all this while that Death was in the Pot, and that inſtead of the way to Peace and happineſs they were then in the High-road to Deſtruction. And This they might eaſily enough have diſcover'd if they had but diligently conſider'd the *Opinions* and *Profeſſions* of the Heads of theſe *Covenanters* and *Subſcribers*; among which, there was not one man of a hundred that was not a *known* and *a vow'd* Enemy both to *Church* and *State*. But they plung'd themſelves like *Curtius*, into the Gulph, as Devotes for the miſtaken preſervation of their Countrey. But the deluſion will better appear, by applying only *Common Reaſon* to the *Impoſture* it ſelf: And firſt, let us conſider their *Proteſtation* of May, 1641.

The Proteſtation. *I* A. B. *do in the preſence of Almighty God, promiſe, vow, and proteſt to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power, and Eſtate, the True Reformed* Proteſtant Religion, *expreſt in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the ſame Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my* Allegiance *to his* Majeſties Royall Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate; *as alſo the* Power, *and* Priviledges *of* Parliament, *the* lawfull Rights *and* Liberties *of the* Subjects, &c. Now as the whole Pretext was plauſible, ſo the ſaving clauſe in it [*as far as lawfully I may*] made it go down without much ſcruple.

The Juggle of the Covenant. The *Solemn League* and *Covenant* of 1643. (which was the *Bond* of the *confederacy* of the Two Nations) had the ſame *ſalvo* in it too, and the very ſame ſpecious pretences for the *Proteſtant Religion*, the *Honour* of the King, the Priviledges of *Parliament*, and the *Liberty* of the Subject: only enlarged to the ſetting up of the *Scottiſh Diſcipline* and *Government*, the *Extirpation* of *Prelacy* and *Popery*; and the bringing of *Delinquents to puniſhment*: So that from the *maintaining* of the *Government*, they are now come to the *Diſſolving* of it; and from the *Defence* of their *own Rights* and *Liberties*, they are advanced to the *Invading* of *other peoples*. We might reflect upon a world of *Solœciſms*, *Illegalities*, *Contradictions* and *Defects*, both in the *Givers* and *Takers* of this *Proteſtation* and *Covenant*: As the *Nullity* of any *Engagment* entered into, *Contrary* to *Law*; the *altering* of the *Govern-*

ment,

ment, without the consent of his *Majesty* in *Parliament*; The perjurious *Fraud* of *Swearing* in *One sence*, in opposition to the *Known Intent* of the *Imposer* in *another*; beside the *Inconsistence* of *these Vows* with Themselves, and the *Contractions* they bear to *One another*. Wherefore we shall rather detect the *Cheat* in the Thing it self, and the wonderfull *Rashness* of the *Undertakers*, then play the *Casuist* upon the Question.

Take the *Protestation* as it runs with that Qualifying Clause in it [*as far as lawfully I may*] and there is hardly any thing more in it then what a man is oblig'd to do without it: So that without some Mystery in the bottom, the thing appears in it self to be wholly idle and impertinent, and not answerable to the solemnity of making it a National Duty. And then the *Imposition* was in it self an *Usurpation* of *Soveraign Power*. The *Covenant* (I must confess) was Ranker, having an Auxiliary Army of about 20000 *Scots* to second it. But was ever any thing in appearance more *harmless*, *Loyall* or *Conscientious*, then this *Protestation?* and if the fellow of it were now in agitation, how would the Town Ring, of any *Church of England-Man* for a disguised Papist, that should refuse to take it? And yet what ensu'd upon the peoples joyning in this officious piece of *miss-guided Zeal* and *Duty?* when they were once In, there was no longer any regard had to *Grammar* or *Literal Construction* of it, but to the *List* of those that took it, as the Discriminating *Test* of the Party; They that contriv'd it, did likewise expound it: and every man was bound implicitly to believe that only to be *Lawfull*, which they told him *was* so, without being allowed the liberty of judging of his own Actions. He that looks into the Records of that Revolution, will finde the *Contributions*, *Subscriptions*, *Loans*, *Levies*, and briefly the highest violences of the *war*, the boldest attempts upon the *Honour* and *Person* of the *King*, the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, and the *Property* of the *Subject*, to be charg'd at the foot of the account, upon the Tye of the *Solemn League* and *Protestation*, and every man bound, upon the forfeiture of his Life, Liberty, and Estate, to observe it, in their sence. Over and above the *Iniquity* of these Oaths, how Ridiculous is it for every Paltery Fellow to swear to the doing of he knows not what, and the *maintaining* of the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, *which no man living understands?* We shall conclude this Point, with the words of the Late King [*Confederations by way of* Solemn Leagues *and* Covenants, *are the Common Road us'd in all*

The Protestation an Oath of Policy not Conscience.

EIK. BA.

Factious and powerful Perturbations of State *or* Church. And our *Covenanters* did but write after the Copy of the *Holy League of France.*

Impostures upon the People.

The people being now prepar'd for any mutinous Impressions, poyson'd in their affections to the Government, besotted into the apprehension of Remote and Invisible dangers, and United in the Resolution of Defending their Rights against all Oppossers; the Designe would have been there at a stand, for want of matter to work upon, if the Caball had not fed and entertain'd their *fears* and *Jealousies*; with stories of *Plots* and Discoveries nearer hand, where still the *Parliament* and the *City* were in the greatest hazzard. One while the *Northern Army* was coming up, and strong *Guards* appointed upon all Passes within 20. miles of *London*, and then comes a Letter to the *Close Committees*, of a *Conspiracy* to seize the Earl of *Argile*, and some other Lords in *Edenburgh*: and upon This, an Order is presently issu'd out to the Justices of *Middlesex*, *Surry*, and *Southwark*, to secure the *City* by *strong Watches*; *because* (says the Order) *the mischievous Designs and Conspiracies lately discover'd in* Scotland *against some Principal and Great men there, by some of the Popish Faction, gives just occasion to suspect that they may maintain Correspondency Here, and practice the like mischief.* They had a Touch now and then at the mighty preparations of *France* and *Denmark*, for the invading of the Nation, and assisting the King to govern by an *Arbitrary Power*. And then the Army *under ground at Ragland Castle* was a terrible thing, and miraculously discovered by an *Inn-keepers Servant* at *Rosse*, to *Alderman Atkins Coachman*. These whimsies were but so many approaches toward the *Militia*; and they are so extravagant, that the man that was upon the place, and can witness the effect of them, has hardly the face yet to make the Report.

A false Alarm.

Upon *Twelfth Night* 1641. the City was allarm'd at Mid-night with a Report of 1500. *Horse*, that design'd to surprize the City. Whereupon a matter of 50000. men were presently in Arms, and the Women at work in the streets, with *Joynt-stools*, *Empty Casks*, and other Lumber, to interrupt their passage.

The goodwomen could not sleep for fear of the Tower guns.

Upon the Kings making Sir *Tho. Lunsford Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, the good women of the City could not sleep for fear of the Guns. But yet without any Objection, his Majesty presently puts in Sir *John Byron*. They could make no exception against him, till at last (as my Authour has it) *Lieutenant Hu-*

ker,

er, the *Aqua-Vitæ-man*, and *Nicholſon* the *Chandler*, enform the Common-Council, that ſince he came to be Lieutenant, there was nothing to do at the *Mint*, though it was made appear that the *Mint* had more buſineſs ſince the Gentlemen was *Lieutenant*, then ever it had in ſo ſhort a time *before*: But their Trade being in the Retail of *Brooms*, *Candles*, and *Muſtard*, their Ignorance in the other point might be the better excus'd.

A Tumult for fear of a Peace.

In *Aug.* 1643. upon a Vote for ſending *Propoſitions of Peace* to the *King*, the very next day there were *Papers ſcatter'd, and poſted up and down the City; requiring all perſons well-affected to riſe in One man, and come to the Houſe of Commons next Morning, for that* 20000 Iriſh Rebells *were landed.* And this was the News of the Pulpits next day; when, (though *Sunday*) a *Common-Council* was call'd late at Night, and a *Petition* there fram'd againſt *Peace.* This Petition was next morning recommended to the *Commons* by *Pennington*, then Mayor, with a Rabble at his heels, declaring that *the Lords* Propoſitions *for* Peace *would be deſtructive to* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *and that if they had not a good anſwer they would be there again the next day, with double the Number.*

Nr. *Pyms* Plague plaiſter.

We muſt not forget the deſign upon the Life of Mr. *Pim* by a *Plague Plaiſter*, that was wrapt up in a Letter and ſent him, which Letter he put in his Pocket for Evidence, though he threw away the Plaiſter. And there was another diſcovery that came as wonderfully to light: a Taylor in a Ditch in *Finsbury-Fields* over-heard two men talking of a Plot upon the Life of my Lord *Say*, and ſome other Eminent Members of both Houſes; and ſo the deſign never took effect.

A Taylor diſcovers a Plot againg my Lord *Say.*

The people Impos'd upon by ridiculous Stories and Impoſtures.

At this rate were the people gull'd from day to day, with freſh and palpable *Impoſtures*; never was any Nation certainly under ſuch an *Obſeſſion* of *Credulity*, and *Blindneſs*; but as the Cauſe was *founded* in *Hypocriſy*, ſo it was by *Forgery* to be *ſupported.* And yet theſe *Legendary Tales* ſtood the Faction in very good ſtead; by authorizing the People now and then to betake themſelves to their *Arms*, and to put themſelves upon their *Guard*; which did, by degrees, let them into the Command of the *City Militia*; out of which *Egg* (as one ſays) came forth the *Cockatrice* of *Rebellion.* Thus was poor *England* frighted out of a *Dream* of *Dangers* into cutting of *Throats* in *Earneſt*: Out of a fear of *Popery*, into a proſtitution even of *Chriſtianity*; and out of an apprehenſion of *Tyranny* into a moſt deſpicable ſtate of *Slavery.*

No foresight wanting in the Faction.

Slavery. The Change of Government now in agitation, had been long in Project, and no foresight wanting for the furtherance of the design. None so diligent at the *Military Yard*, or *Artilery-Garden*, as the zelots of the *Faction*; and upon the Vacancy of any considerable Employment there, who but they to put in for the Command? Nor were they less industrious to screw themselves into the Bench of *Aldermen* and *Common-Council*, insomuch that a Motion was made there (with an Eye to two *beggerly*, and *Fanatical Captains*,) that *Honest men*, (for that's their Name when they are their own Godfathers) *might bear the* Magistracy, *and the* City *the* expence. But what did all this amount to, without a *Fond* of *Men*, *Mony*, *Arms*, and *Ammunition*, to carry on the Work? So that their business was now to make sure of the CITY, as the only means of their supply: But *that*, they found could never be brought about, without a *Lord Mayor* for their Turns; Or else reducing the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* to a *Level* with the *Commons*: and establishing a firm correspondence betwixt *Westminster*, and *Guild-Hall*, the *One* to *Contrive*, and the *Other* to *Execute*. So that this was the thing they pitch'd upon, and the manner of their proceeding was as follows.

The Faction could do not'ing without the City.

The Practices of the Faction upon the Common-Council.

Having *Pharisaically*, and *Invidiously* divided the people into *Two Parties*; *Themselves* forsooth, the *Godly Party*, and the *Friends* of the *Government*, the *Papists*: a little before St. *Thomas*'s day 1641. (when the City chuses their *Common-Council*) they calumniated the *Old Common-Council-men*, as men too much inclining to the *Court*; sticklers for *Episcopacy*, and the *Common-Prayer*; and not at all zealous for *Religion*, (just as we cry out against *Papists*, and *Pensioners* now adays;) by this practice, they worm'd out *Honest men*, and chose *Schismaticks* into their places: and instead of Sir *George Benyon*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Clark*, Mr. *Gardiner*, *Deputy Withers*, Mr. *Cartwright*, and other Loyall, and *considerable Citizens*; they took in *Foulk* the *Traytor*, *Perkins*, (my *Lord* Say's *Taylor*,) and Others of the same stamp and Value.

The Common Council inpos'd upon by the Faction beyond president.

Now though the *Election* be on St. *Thomas* day, they are never *Return'd* yet before the *Munday* after *Twelfth*; nor allow'd to Act as *Common-Council-men* till the *Indentures* of their *Election* be *Returned* from the *Wardmote Inquest* to the *Town-Clark*; and a *Warrant* Issu'd from the *Lord Mayor* to *the Serjeant of the Chamber* to Summon them. But the Faction however made bold to dispence

pence with these *Puntillo's*, (though the constant *Rule* and *Custome* of the *City*) and a *Common-Council* being held *December* 31. 1641. by the *Kings Expres Order*, all that Gang of the *New Choice*, thrust themselves in, and took their places with the *Old*. This Intrusion was opposed by several, but out of respect to a *Message* from his *Majesty* which was then brought them by the Lord *Newbourgh*, complaining of *Tumults* about *White-hall*, and *Westminster*, and recommending to the care of the City, the preventing of any further disorders: the question was let fall from the present; and the Court apply'd themselves to dispatch an answer to his Majesty; which was in effect, an *acknowledgment* of his *gracious Goodnesse* expres't to the *City*; the *Courts* disavowing of the *Tumults*; their promise of doing the best for the future *to prevent*, or *suppress* them, and their humble desire that whosoever should be found guilty of them, might be brought to condign punishment.

On the *Last* of *December*, the House of Commons under pretence of finding themselves in danger, sent to the King for a *Guard*, but it must be a *Guard out of the City of* London, *and to be commanded by the Earl of* Essex. To which Message, his Majesty offer'd them, *Jan.* 3. a *Guard* of his own appointment for their security: But this Trick would not pass upon the King: so that they were forc'd to do their business another way. Ex. *Col.* 44. Ex. *Col.* 45.

Upon the *Fifth* of *Jan. another Common-Council* was call'd by the *Kings Order*, when his Majesty was pleased, in person to acquaint the Court with the Reasons of his demanding the *five Members* the day before: admonishing them to harbour or protect those men in the City. *Fowke* and his new Brethren (contrary to all Right or President) were got in again, and there he most audaciously affronted his Majesty with a Discourse of *Fears* and *Jealousies*, *Priviledges of Parliament*, &c. the King only replying in effect, that they were dangerous *men*, and that they should have a *Legal Tryal*. The King goes to the Common-Council.

On the same day (being *Wednesday*) the House adjourned till the *Tuesday* following, and Order'd a Committee to set next morning at *Guild-hall*; taking upon themselves little less then Soveraign Power. The Committee met at *Grocers Hall*, where the *Five Members* met, under the Guard of the City-Train'd-Bands, where they past such Votes of Priviledge as never any Age heard of before, extending it even to the *Exempting* and justifying of *Treason* it *self*. The Commons djourn and remove into the City.

On

The Committees Vote at *Grocers-Hall.*

On *Saturday, Jan.* 8. upon a Debate for the ſafe meeting of the *Five Members* at *Weſtminſter* the Tueſday following; the Reſult was, *That the* Sheriffs of London *ſhould and might raiſe a Guard of the Train'd-Bands, for the Defence of the* King *and* Parliament; *and that they might warrantably march out of their Liberties.* A Rout of Sea-men offering their ſervice by water, as the Other by Land. This Subject ſet all the Puritan Pulpits on work to inflame the people againſt their *Soveraign* in favour of the *Five Members.*

The King withdraws from *London.*

Upon the fatall 10*th.* of *January*, the King was forc'd to withdraw from *London*, which was then left at the Mercy of the Faction, and that every day, the Indentures of the *Election* were Return'd: Upon all Queſtions about Theſe *Elections*, the Deciſion was formerly in the *Lord Mayor* and Court of Aldermen; but by the Violence and Importunity of theſe New Intruders, it is left to a *Committee* of the *Common-Council*, (being the Committee alſo for *the ſafety of the City* (ſo call'd): This *Committee* was their firſt approach toward the *Militia*; and then follow'd another, for putting the City into a *Poſture* of *Defence*; conſiſting of *Six Aldermen* and *Twelve Commons*, moſt of them of the New Cutt: and 300*l. per annum* allow'd to *Skippon*, as an aſſiſtant to the Committee.

They ſettle the Militia.

Having already modell'd the Common-Council to their liking they furniſh themſelves with all ſorts of *Military Proviſions*; augment the Train'd-Bands, from 6000. to 8000. the *Six Aldermen* are made Colonels, and the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, are to chooſe their Officers; and authority of *Summoning Common-Councils* is taken away from the *Lord Mayor*, and lodg'd in the people of the Faction; and whenſoever they'l have One call'd, the *Lord Mayor* muſt obey, without ſo much as asking a Reaſon for't.

And ſtrip the Mayor of his priviledges.

They took away his Power alſo of *Diſſolving* them, and kept him to his ſeat, till they thought fit to diſcharge him.

And again, whereas all Propoſals were formerly offer'd to the Court, and all *Queſtions* put by the *Recorder* from the *Lord Mayor*; when the Faction had any thing to propound, wherein the *Lord Mayor* would neither Command the *Recorder*, nor the *Recorder* act without the *Lord Mayor*, *Ven*, *Pennington* and *Vaſſ* help'd them out at a dead lift, with an Order from the Houſe of Commons.

And finally, they brought the Orderly Conſtitution of the Ci-

ty-Government to a *Level*, confounding *Mayor*, *Aldermen* and *Commons* in the Blending of their Votes.

The *Schismatiques* have now got the *Riches* and the Strength of the City in a manner at their own Diſpoſal, For if the *major* part of the *Common-Council* may *Call*, *Continue* and *Diſſolve* the Court at pleaſure, put what *Queſtions* they liſt, and Determine all things by a *Plurality of Votes*, there needed little more then a Pack't *Common-Council* to do their buſineſs. The Faction Maſters of the City.

Let us conſider now the Harmony betwixt the *Two Junto's* of *Weſtminſter*, and the *City*. The *Commons Jan.* 26. *Petition'd* his Majeſty about the *Tower*, *Forts*, and the *Militia:* to which his Majeſty returns them a Refuſal, *Jan.* 18. in the moſt obliging Terms imaginable, telling them, *that he did not doubt, that his having granted more then ever* King *had* granted, *would ever perſwade his Houſe of Commons to* ask *more then ever* Subjects *had* ask'd. The Commons Petition about the Militia. Ex. Col. 16.

About the beginning of *Feb.* there was held a Common-Council; which ſat till One in the Morning. When the Court was quite weary, and tir'd out, *Ven* took that Opportunity of preſenting an Order of the Commons, deſiring a return of the Names of thoſe Perſons whom the City intruſted with the *Militia* of *London*. The Court was a little ſurpriz'd at it; but yet being deſirous to be gone, and conſidering whatſoever paſt at One Council was in courſe to be debated at another, ſent the Names of the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, in return to the Houſes Order. By this fetch, the *Lord Mayor*, *Sheriffs*, and *Court of Aldermen*, were underſtood to have voluntarily relinquiſhed their Own intereſt, and lodg'd the Power of the *Militia* in the *Committee* for the *Poſture of Defence*, whereof the *Major Part* was wholly at the Devotion of *Ven*, and his complices. At the next *Common-Council*, upon reading the Orders of the laſt meeting, ſome of the *Aldermen Proteſted* againſt them; as having no thought, of either ſhutting out the *Mayor*, or making the *Committee* ſo *abſolute* as they found the two Houſes had done. Whereupon it was mov'd that the Houſes might be *Petition'd* to reverſe the *Order*. But that being carryed in the *Negative*, *Ven* produces another Order for the adding of *Skippon* to the *Committee* for the *Militia*, which was carry'd without much Difficulty. A Trick put upon the Lord Mayor & Aldermen.

The Governmen. of the City affronted.

The Court of *Aldermen* reflecting upon the Indignities cast upon the *Mayor* and *Government* of the *City*, Petition'd the House apart from the Commons, that the Mayor and Sheriffs might be nominated *of the Committee*, but to no purpose; For they knew Sir *Richard Gourny* was a person of too much Honour and Loyalty, to comply with their Designes. After this Repulse, several of the most Eminent Citizens, both for Worth and Estates, Petition'd the *Two Houses* in *their own Names* for the Removal of That Scandal, but there was no relief to be had; and they were barbarously treated for their pains over and above. Sir *George Benyon* (to his Honour) as the framer and chief Promoter of that most reasonable Petition, was fin'd 3000*l*. *Disfranchiz'd in the City, never to bear Office in the Kingdom, to be Committed for two year to* Colchester Goal, *and at the end of the Term to give Security for his good Behaviour. Methinks the bare Recital of This Inhuman Insolence should turn the Blood of every honest Citizen.*

The Tyranny of this Committee.

This *Committee* was now become the Masters of the Militia: they remov'd Sir *Richard Gourny*, and put *Pennington* into his place; they make *Ordinances* to pass for Laws, and *Rebellion*, to be a point of *Conscience*, they persecute the *Orthodox Clergy*, Oppress their *Fellow Citizens*, and the whole *Nation*; and where they have not *Credit* to *borrow*, they make use of their *Power* to *Take away*, living upon the Spoil, without any regard to the Laws either of God or Man. And to shew the world that as the Faction had *subverted* the *Government* of the *City*, so they intended to perpetuate the slavery: See as follows.

Vicesimo Octavo, *Februarii* 1648.

An Act of the Commons of England *in Parliament Assembled, For Removing Obstructions in the Proceedings of the* Common-Conncil *of the* City *of* London.

THe *Commons of* England, *in Parliament assembled, do Enact, and Ordain, and be it Enacted and Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that in all times to come, the* Lord Mayor *of the said City of* London, *so often and at such time as any* 10. *or* more *of the* Common-Council-men *do by Writing under their hands, request or desire him thereunto, shall summon, assemble, and hold a* Common Council, *and if at any time being so required or desired he shall fail therein, then the* ten persons, *or* more *making such request or desire, shall have Power, and are hereby Authorized by Writing under their hand, to summon or cause to be summoned, to the said Council, the Members belonging thereunto, in as ample manner as the* Lord Mayor *himself usually hath done, and that the Members appearing upon the same Summons, being of the Number of* 40. *or* more, *shall become a* Common Council, *And that each Officer whose duty it shall be to warn in, and Summon the Members of the said Councill, shall perform the same from time to time upon the Warrant or Command of* ten Persons *or* more *so authorized as aforesaid: And it is further Enacted and Ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that in every* Common Council *hereafter to be assembled, the* Lord Mayor *of the said City for the time being, or in his absence, such* Locum tenens *as he shall appoint, and in default thereof, the* Eldest Alderman *present if any be, and for want of such* Alderman *or in case of his neglect, or refusal therein, then any other* person *Member of the said Council whom the Commons present in the said Council shall chuse, shall be from time to time* President *or* Chairman *of the said Council; and shall cause and suffer all things offered to or proposed in*

the ſaid Council to be fairly and orderly debated, Put to the Queſtion, Voted and determined, in and by the ſame Council, as the Major part *of the Members preſent in the ſaid Council ſhall deſire or think fit: and in every Vote which ſhall paſs, and in the other Praceedings of the ſaid Council, neither the* Lord Mayor *nor* Aldermen, joynt, *or* Seperate, *ſhall have any* negative *or* diſtinct Voice, *or* Vote, *otherwiſe then with, and among, and as part of the reſt of the Members of the ſaid Council, and in the ſame manner as the other Members have; and that the abſence and withdrawing of the* Lord Mayor, *or* Aldermen *from the ſaid Council, ſhall not ſtop or prejudice the proceeding of the ſaid Council, And that every* Common-Council *which ſhall be held in the* City of London, *ſhall ſit and continue ſo long as the* Major part *of the Council ſhall think fit, and ſhall not be* diſſolved, *or* adjourned *but by and according to the Order or Conſent of the* Major part *of the ſame Council: And that all the* Votes *and* Acts *of the ſaid* Common Council *which was held* 13 January *laſt, after the departure of the* Lord Mayor *from the ſame Council, and alſo all Votes and Acts of every* Common Council *hereafter to be held, ſhall be from time to time duely Regiſtred as the Votes and Acts of the ſaid Council have uſed to be done, in time paſt. And be it further Enacted and Ordained by the Authority aforeſaid, that every Officer which ſhall ſit in the ſaid Council, ſhall be from time to time choſen by the ſaid* Council, *and ſhall have ſuch reaſonable allowance or Salary, for his pains and ſervice therein, as the* Council *ſhall think fit: And that every ſuch Officer ſhall attend the ſaid* Common Council, *and that all* Acts *and* Records *and* Regiſter Books *belonging to the ſaid* City, *ſhall be extant, to be peruſed and ſearched into by every* Citizen *of the ſaid* City, *in the preſence of the Officer who ſhall have the Charge of keeping thereof, who is hereby required to attend for the ſame purpoſe.*

Hen. Scobel Cler. Parliament.

Take

Take notice that the *Vote* of *Common Council* in the Act above-recited of *Jan.* 13. 1648. when the *Lord Mayor* went off, and diſmiſſed the *Court*, was a *Treaſonous Vote, for the ſpeedy bringing of the King to Juſtice.*

You have here the State of the *New-Model'd Government* of the City (and effectually of the whole *Nation*) together with the Methods of *Hypocriſy* and State that brought us into that miſerable Condition. And what were they but *Canting Sermons, Popular Petitions, Tumults, Aſſociations, Impoſtures,* and *Diſaffected Common-Councils?* We have likewiſe ſet forth how theſe Advantages were gain'd with their Natural Tendency to the Miſchiefs they produc'd. And who were they that promoted and brought all theſe Calamities upon us, but men of *deſperate Fortunes* and *Principles, Male-contents, broken Tradeſmen, Coblers, Thimble-makers, Dray-men, Oſtlers,* and a world of this ſort of People, whoſe Names are every where up and down in the Hiſtory of our late Confuſions; Men of *Ambition* and *Intereſt,* and agreeing in nothing elſe but an United Diſaffection both to *Church* and *State. The contrivers of all theſe miſchiefs* (ſays his *Late Majeſty*) *know what overtures have been made by them; and with what Importunity for Offices and Preferments; what great Services ſhould have been done for us; and what other Undertakings were* (*even to have ſav'd the Life of the Earl of* Strafford) *if we would confer ſuch Offices upon them.* And *Henry Martin* very Honeſtly blurted it out, *A pox o' your ſnivling for Religion* (ſays he) *we fight for Liberty*: And all their bawling to put other people out of Employment was only to get themſelves In. Thus they went on till the Government was made a Prey to the Faction; and the deluded Multitude too late made ſenſible of their Errours.

How we were deſtroyed, and By whom. Ex. Col. 534.

Methinks the People of *England*, after all this Experience, ſhould be both *Wiſer* and *Honeſter*, then by treading the ſame ſteps over again, to re-engage themſelves in the ſame *Miſeries* and *Crimes*: Or if both *Conſcience* and *Common Prudence* ſhould have quite forſaken us, the very *ſhame*, methinks of being fooled over again the ſame way, ſhould move us to bethink our ſelves. Or if that very *ſhame* were loſt too, it was ſo *Baſe*, ſo *Scandalous a Servitude*; we were *Slaves* to the Meaneſt of the *Rabble*: And our *Maſters* were a greater Infamy to us then our Fetters; the very *Ignominy* cannot but work an *Indignation* in any thing that wears the Soul of an *Engliſhman.*

We muſt be made to engage in New Troubles.

This

The Factions Ingratitude.

This Paper and occasion will not bear the tracing of their *Ingratitudes* and *Tyrannies* at length; but in short, how barbarously did they treat even their idoliz'd *House* of *Commons*; their *Assembly*; nay their *Covenanting Brethren* the *Scots*; when they follow'd them from *Newark* even to their Borders with a body of Horse at their Heels? their *Generall*, and the *Army* that set them up: in a most Eminent manner the City of *London*, though (as the Faction order'd it) the very Nurse and Supportresse of the Rebellion.

The Method of our Late Troubles fresh in our Memories.

His *Sacred Majesty* can never forget by what means his Blessed *Father* was *Murther'd*; nor the *Bishops* forget the abuse and Profanation of the *Pulpits* even to the Extirpating of the Holy *Order*; the *Nobility* and *Gentry* can never forget the Illusions that were put upon them under the Appearance of *Religion* and *Duty*, by men that were void of both; neither certainly can the *Common people* forget how they were conjur'd into a Circle by *Sermons*, *Petitions*, and *Covenants*; when there was no getting out again.

Ungratefull to the City.

We'l see a little of their *Ingratitude* now to the City of *London*; and whether they far'd any better then other people. First they stript them of the *Militia*, then of their *Charter* and *Priviledges*, they turn'd their Government *Topsy Turvy*: *Tax'd*, *Disarm'd*, *Imprison'd*, and *Plunder'd* at pleasure; took down their *Chains*, and *Posts*, *Quarter'd Souldiers* upon them, *Garrison'd* the *Tower*, and several other places of the City; the Army Marching in Triumph through it, for the aggravation of their Slavery; they degraded the *Lord Mayor Reynoldson*, *Fin'd* him 2000*l.* and Committed him to the *Tower*, *April* 21.48. for refusing to publish the *Proclamation* for *Abolishing* the *Kingly Office*: they Threatned to *set fire to the City*, and lay it in the *Dust*, telling the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, in a Letter about the beginning of *Aug.* 1647. *that they were unable to defend either the Parliament or themselves; and demanding to have the City deliver'd into their hands, which was submitted to, upon Conditions, of relinquishing the* Militia, *and* 11. Members, *delivering up the* Forts *and* Tower *of* London, *and all* Magazins, *and* Arms *therein, to the Army*, disbanding *their Forces*, *turning out all* Reformades, *and drawing off their* Guards *from the* Parliament. In *Walkers Hist.* of *Independency*, these Particulars are to be seen at large.

The Plot driven on principally by Petitions.

It is remarkable, that what other means soever were occasionally made use of, the Plot was still driven on, from First to Last,

Laſt, mainly by PETITIONS, but none were admitted on the Other ſide: For ſo ſoon as ever any *Petition* appear'd that croſt the Factions Intereſt; (as in ſeveral Caſes from the *Agitators* of the *City* of *London*) there was preſently *a ſtrict enquiry after the Authours and Abettors of them, and the Deſign immediately cruſht.* They ſhould have taken in the SUBSCRIBERS too, and Iſſu'd out a *Commiſſion of Enquiry*, wherein all the *Marks*, and *Subſcriptions*, produced in the *Names* of *ſo many thouſands Petitioners*, were really the *Acts*, and *Atteſtations* of the *Perſons ſo Named*, and what Arts and Menaces were made uſe of for their procurement. No unneceſſary caution, even in our preſent Caſe, to diſtinguiſh the *Sober*, and *well-meaning Subſcribers*, from the *Fierce* and *Bloody Fifth-Monarchy men*, and other Sects that hold affinity with them; It being notoriouſly known, that a Mark is ſet upon the Refuſers by thoſe Factions, who are the violent ſticklers in this proceeding, which carries the face rather of an *Intended Maſſacre*, then a *Petition*. This will ſeem no uncharitable Conſtruction, when I ſhall tell you what a Noble Lord ſaid in the Houſe of *Peers*, *Dec.* 16. 42. *They cheerfully undertook* (ſays he) *to ſerve againſt that Army wherein they knew their Own Fathers were*; *and on my Conſcience* (ſays he) *I ſpeak it to their Honour, had they met them alone, they would have ſacrific'd them to the Commands of both Houſes.* And now you ſhall ſee their *Piety* expounded in another part of the ſame Speech. *They* (ſays he) *who think that Human Laws can binde the Conſcience, and will examine the Oaths they have taken, according to the Interpretations of* Men, *will in time fall from us: but ſuch who* Religiouſly *conſider that ſuch* Moral Precepts *are fitter for* Heathens, *then for* Chriſtians; *will not faint in their Duty.*

A way to diſcover Counterfeits.

Dutiful Children.

A Diſpenſation for perjury.

To bring this Pamphlet to a Concluſion, we ſhall only ſay this further in juſtification of it, that is was written with a very *Honeſt Intention*; that the matter of *Fact* is partly upon *Certain Knowledge*, and partly upon the credit of very *Warrantable Papers*. The principal Scope of it was, to lay open the *Miſtery* and *Method* of the *Late Rebellion*; and ſo to expoſe it, that the *ſame Project*, and *Model* may not be made uſe of for *Another*.

The End.